VIETNAM COURIER
No 173
1968
Supplement

RESOLUTELY MARCH FORWARD AND COMPLETELY DEFEAT THE AMERICAN WAR OF DESTRUCTION*

General VAN TIEN DUNG

ON the strength of their repeated and ever greater victories of the past few years, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people resolutely and daringly launched in early 1968 a generalized offensive throughout South Viet Nam, and won extremely great military and political victories that have caused a great stir in the U.S. and in the world, and switched the South Viet Nam revolutionary war over to a new stage.

Faced with the widespread offensive and uprisings of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people and the heavy setbacks of the U.S. in its war of destruction against North Viet Nam, Johnson was forced on March 31 to announce the "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam.

These events mark a new and tremendous advance of our people in their struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation in both zones and in their fight against the U.S. war of destruction against North Viet Nam. In the fierce confrontation between the enemy and us there has emerged a new situation very favourable to us and unfavourable to the enemy, a situation that differs completely from that which prevailed over a year ago when the second strategic counter-offensive of the U.S. aggressors had just been defeated and some time later, when the 2,000th U.S. aircraft had been shot down in North Viet Nam.

On this occasion, let us take a look back at the unfolding of the U.S. war of destruction in North Viet Nam in its relation with the local war of aggression conducted by the U.S. in South Viet Nam, review our big successes in meeting the war of destruction with the people's war and the bitter setbacks of the enemy, draw the necessary lessons and assess the causes of our victories.

WAR OF DESTRUCTION AGAINST NORTH VIET NAM: PART OF THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS' WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SOUTH

1 — The U.S. war of destruction against North Viet Nam is a new-type war. It is not a separate war, but **part of the U.S. war of aggression against South Viet Nam, conditioned by the evolution of the aggressive war in South Viet Nam and aimed at staving off U.S. defeat on the South Viet Nam battlefield.** It bears the character of a limited war: the main striking force used in this war is not the U.S. infantry, but its air force and navy, chiefly the air force. Hence it has only limited objectives the achievement of which is to help toward a decision in U.S. favour in the ground war of aggression conducted by the U.S. infantry in South Viet Nam. Naturally, in the first months of their attacks on North Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors nurtured the illusion to bomb and strafe our people in both zones into submission.

The U.S. imperialists are fully aware of the role of **socialist North Viet Nam, the revolutionary base of the whole country, the great rear of the South Viet Nam revolutionary war.** That is why, right at the start and through all various stages of its war of aggression in South Viet Nam, the U.S. has not for a moment given up the dream of destroying North Viet Nam. From 1961 to 1964, following its strategic failure in face of the "concerted uprising" movement of the South Viet Nam people and during its "special war" against the South Viet Nam revolution, the U.S. smuggled many groups of spies and commandos into North Viet Nam, trying their best to foment counter-revolutionary troubles in an attempt to undermine North Viet Nam from inside.

In early 1965, as their "special war" strategy in South Viet Nam was facing complete failure, and to avert the total bankruptcy of their aggressive plan and save the puppet army and administration from imminent disintegration, the U.S. imperialists hurriedly unleashed their air and navy forces against North Viet Nam and hastily dispatched a large expeditionary corps to South Viet Nam, coupling these moves with fallacious "peace negotiation" offer (Johnson's Baltimore April 1965 speech) in an effort to force within a short period of time the Vietnamese people to bow to the brutal force of the aggressors. But U.S. bombs and shells have failed to subdue our armed forces and people in both zones. They have only strengthened our national unity, stiffened our resolve and impelled forward our increasingly successful struggle.

The U.S. imperialists, out of passivity, had to switch from the "special war" to the "local war" through a more and more massive commitment of U.S. expeditionary troops and further escalation of their fierce attacks on North Viet Nam. The aggressive war in South Viet Nam and the war of destruction against North Viet Nam have been going alongside like a man and his shadow.

The **concrete objectives** of the U.S. war of destruction against North Viet Nam are as follows:

— to shake the determination to fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, of our people in both zones;

— to prevent North Viet Nam's assistance to South Viet Nam, bolster up the morale of the puppet army and administration, isolate and stamp out the South Viet Nam revolutionary war;

— to sabotage North Viet Nam's socialist construction, weaken her economic and national defence potentials.

Besides, in attacking North Viet Nam, a member of the socialist camp and a sovereign country, the U.S. has challenged the socialist camp and other independent countries, tried to strike at the prestige of the world's revolutionary forces, and intimidate the world's revolutionary peoples.

* *A slightly abridged translation.*

A conventional A.A. defence unit.

In face of the ever greater setbacks it has suffered in North Viet Nam and the evident impotence of the U.S. air force and navy, the U.S. has been forced to gradually restrict the ambitions of its objectives. Now, it only speaks of "creating difficulties" to, and "limiting," and no longer preventing, North Viet Nam's assistance to South Viet Nam. This is also a way to admit U.S. failure in its war of destruction against North Viet Nam.

2 — In waging the war of destruction against North Viet Nam, the U.S. aggressors have undoubtedly made an enormous blunder. As an aftermath of their losing position and passivity in South Viet Nam, the U.S. war of destruction in North Viet Nam right at the start has been stamped with the mark of passivity and failure on the strategic plane. It carries in itself many very fundamental weaknesses.

Political weakness has proved fatal to the U.S. war of destruction, because it is tying down and considerably restricting U.S. military strength which is not unlimited.

In creating an infamous precedent of unprovoked attack against a country of the socialist camp — a sovereign nation which has never done any harm to the United States — the U.S. imperialists have been driven into a most serious political isolation. From this state of things has emerged a rule of the war of destruction: the more the U.S. widens its military activities and the higher it escalates, the more it is isolated politically. Consequently, the U.S. cannot deploy massively its up-to-date air and naval forces in a surprise, lightning and large-scale attack so as to inflict big losses on us. The criminal who is U.S. imperialism has had to "escalate" rung by rung, attacking while trembling and probing, now escalating and now de-escalating, constantly finding himself in a state of perplexity and passivity. The modern U.S. air force, with its very expensive up-to-date jet planes of different types, designed for a large-scale nuclear war, however, has to make a completely different war for which it is completely unprepared. It must use scattered forces to strike again and again at thousands of small targets which are constantly on the move. Hence its inability to make full use of all combat methods in which it excels and to bring into full play the functional, tactical and technical capacities of its modern weapons and technical means. The longer it fights the more the U.S. air force proves incapable of fulfilling the tasks assigned to it and the heavier the losses it sustains.

U.S. attacks against the North have been aimed at improving its situation in the South. The more it fails in the South the more it feels the need to step up attacks on the North, which causes heavier and heavier losses and aggravated its passiveness in both zones of Viet Nam. This is another fact which assumes the character of a law in the war of destruction. It explains why in the course of the fighting the U.S. air force grows weaker. U.S. escalation in early 1966 (following the so-called 37-day bomb pause) and in early 1967 which consisted of intensified raids on industrial establishments, populated areas including Hanoi capital and Haiphong, continual bombardment of the coastal areas by naval artillery, shelling across the 17th parallel from positions south of the demarcation river, mining rivers and canals, etc... is closely associated with the U.S. plans for strategic "counter offensives" in those two years and their lamentable failures.

Thus, owing to the disastrous decision to use the air war of destruction in North Viet Nam to win the losing ground war in South Viet Nam — the main battlefield —, the U.S. has been forced to scatter its air and naval forces over a new theatre, which has made it impossible for it to concentrate its forces to support its ground operations in the main theatre. U.S. passiveness and failure on one battlefield has thus been extended to many battlefields. In drawing the balance-sheet of the U.S. failure in Viet Nam, Maxwell Taylor admitted that no issue concerning the Viet Nam situation had provoked such protracted quarrels and discussions as the bombing of North Viet Nam.

3 — The U.S. war of destruction in North Viet Nam, however, has not always evolved in a one-way direction according to the rule that the more it fails in the South the harder it strikes at the North. The point is whether or not the U.S. is able to continue its escalation indefinitely. Reality has shown that because it escalates its war in a losing position and sustains more defeats in the process, the U.S. cannot escalate indefinitely. Its forces being not unlimited — as shown by realities of the war — and moreover subjected to ever heavier losses in both parts of Viet Nam, once the political goals of the neo-colonialist aggressive war in Viet Nam have no chance to be attained despite the deployment of an unscheduled enormous military force, and once continued escalation has proved incapable of solving anything, the U.S. must either change its goals or de-escalate.

This trend found a clear expression in Johnson's decision on a "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam as from March 31, 1968. This decision was in no way motivated by any "restraint" on his part or by anything else but actually by U.S. heavy military and political failures. It gives a clear indication of the real capacities of the U.S. air force following its big losses in aircraft and pilots over recent years in both North and South Viet Nam. It is our people's unflagging and valiant fight, on both the military and political fronts and in both the South and the North that has forced the White House to "de-escalate." It is still fresh in everybody's mind that in the last months of 1967 the U.S. furiously intensified its attacks on North Viet Nam the most typical of which were the concentrated and frantic strikes against Hanoi and Haiphong and the sustained bombardments of the southern part of the Fourth Military Zone. However, far from achieving the objectives of its war of destruction, the U.S. has met with well-deserved punishment. The number of U.S. aircraft shot down, pilots killed or captured and war vessels set on fire or damaged increases at a quick tempo.

Then in the first wave of their general offensive, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people in the early days of Spring 1968 dealt so heavy blows at the U.S. air force that up to now it has not been replenished. For several consecutive months, the U.S.A.F.'s capacity to attack North Viet Nam dropped visibly. As a matter of fact, with its war efforts at the present level, the U.S. is meeting with growing difficulties and is hardly in a position to attack North Viet Nam with the same punch as in the past. The U.S. has to concentrate its remaining forces on a given sector in order to effectively prevent North Viet Nam's assistance to South Viet Nam and give an efficient support to the U.S. and puppet troops on the South Viet Nam battlefields in their desperate resistance in the current phase of the general offensive and widespread uprisings of the South Viet Nam revolutionary war. So, Johnson's announcement of "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam was, in the final analysis, only a public confession of the abysmal military failure of the U.S. and the limited power of the U.S.A.F. on the battlefront. It also revealed the tremendous political failure of the U.S. imperialists in face of the increasing pressure of public opinion in the U.S. and the world for a permanent and unconditional halt to the U.S. bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

Naturally, because the war of destruction against North Viet Nam is closely linked to the war of aggression against South Viet Nam, because they are bent on clinging to South Viet Nam and still have considerable war potential at their disposal, the U.S. imperialists still are able to make up for their losses and to resume their escalation.

Militia women taking a rest

OUR GREAT VICTORIES, U.S. DISMAL DEFEATS

UNDER the firm and sound leadership of the Party, our armed forces and people in North Viet Nam have heroically been waging a people's war of a very new type to defeat the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists. Through three and a half years of fighting while building their forces and fulfilling their duty toward the South Viet Nam revolution, the North Viet Nam armed forces and people have frustrated all U.S. schemes, foiled a very important step of their war of destruction and won great and all-sided victories.

1 — Our greatest and most outstanding success which is at the same time the enemy's heaviest and most pitiful failure lies in the irresistible growth by leaps and bounds of the revolutionary war in South Viet Nam.

The U.S. decision to attack North Viet Nam and "shut up" and isolate South Viet Nam to stamp out the revolutionary war there has gone bankrupt. North Viet Nam's armed forces and people's will to discharge their tasks as the great rear base towards the great front and defend the North has grown even stifler than ever before. Its communications and transport have increased manyfold compared with the pre-war years. Whether they raid the whole territory of North Viet Nam or concentrate their attacks on the area from Thanh Hoa or Nghe An to Vinh Linh, the enemy can in no way stop the North Viet Nam people's active assistance to their kindred in South Viet Nam. His attacks even have given a strong fillip to the fulfilment of their tasks as the great rear base towards the great front. The revolutionary war in South Viet Nam is far from being isolated or weakened. The South Viet Nam armed forces and people, overcoming the greatest obstacles and most severe trials and relying on their own strength and the great rear base of socialist North Viet Nam, have been unceasingly and vigorously promoting their strategic offensive, defeating one after another U.S. strategic counter-offensives and have forced the U.S. aggressors, after the 1966-1967 dry season, back to their strategic defensive at the very moment when their war efforts reached a very high degree in terms both of troop strength and of armaments and money. In early Spring of 1968, taking advantage of the enemy's heavy setbacks and great confusion, the South Viet Nam armed forces and people, putting to use the powerful strength stored up in the process of struggle, launched an earth-shaking general offensive which is still going on. The U.S. defensive

position as well as its aggressive will against South Viet Nam has been disrupted, weakened and continuously on the downgrade. A new, very glorious phase of the revolutionary war in South Viet Nam has begun, that of continual attacks and widespread uprisings aimed at wiping out as much U.S. and puppet manpower as possible, overthrowing the puppet administration at all levels, expanding control over the country and step by step wresting back all power for the people.

Unquestionably, instead of undermining the South Viet Nam revolution and checking its irresistible growth, the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against North Viet Nam will not save them from ever greater setbacks in both zones of the country and will inevitably end in total fiasco.

2— The North Viet Nam armed forces and people have wiped out a substantial strategic part of the U.S. air and naval forces, comprising aircraft of all types from the biggest B.52 to the latest F.111A; killed or captured thousands of pilots; and sunk, shot afire or damaged over a hundred warships and commando-boats of the U.S. and its puppets. Never before in the U.S. history have the U.S. aggressors lost such a big number of aircraft and pilots. Even with its vast material resources the U.S. has not yet been able to make up for the losses. These have decreased the military strength of the U.S. in general and its air force in particular, seriously affecting the global strategy of the U.S. imperialists in their odious role as international gendarme.

The above-said victory of our people is not only of an important military significance but also of a paramount political meaning. For U.S. Air Force and Navy have always been the main trump-card of the military forces on which the U.S. aggressors rely to intimidate and suppress other peoples. Not long ago, they still used them as a bogus to support their imperialistic aims. Now all the weaknesses and impotence of their trump-card have been laid bare by the resistance of Viet Nam, whose population is much smaller than, and whose equipment is much inferior to, those of the U.S. The latter is groggy from the serious losses in manpower and war means of its air and naval forces and more particularly from the loss of this trump-card. The U.S. imperialists' prestige as a "great power" has sunk to a lamentable low in the eyes of the world peoples and even of their "allies" and satellites who used to regard the U.S. as an invincible great power which could rule the roost anywhere and at any time.

3—Far from being weakened, socialist North Viet Nam has become far steadier and stronger in all sphere—political, military and economic and national defence.

The political unity of mind and solidarity of the people around the Party, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh have been firmer and their determination to defend the North and liberate the South higher than ever. The North Viet Nam armed forces and people tempered in trials, have gained invaluable experiences in their sacred fight to help the South Viet Nam revolution and to defeat the modern air and naval forces of the U.S. in North Viet Nam. In only a little more than 3 years, our people's armed forces have grown up more rapidly than in many previous peace time years. All the three categories of armed forces have made giant's strides forward in both numerical strength and standart. Strengthened by many new, modern armed branches and services, our armed forces can expertly man supersonic jet planes and missiles, have recorded many extraordinary exploits against the U.S. air and naval forces and are fully prepared and fully able to defeat the U.S. ground forces if they are reckless enough to invade North Viet Nam.

Never before have our people had so powerful an army as at present. In spite of enemy bombs and shells and right in the midst of fierce and continual attacks by the enemy we continue to make steady strides forward in socialist revolution and in successful socialist construction. The socialist relations of production keep consolidating; the technical revolution keeps forging ahead; the cultural, educational and medical work is constantly developing; the people's life remains stable. Our armed forces and people are fighting and working with the calm and proud attitude of the victor, full of optimism and confidence in the future.

The extraordinary and comprehensive growth of North Viet Nam constitutes a tremendous achievement for the North Viet Nam armed forces and people throughout the country. It has created great moral and material possibilities for the certain success of the fight of our armed forces and people throughout the country at present as well as for their whole revolutionary cause in the future.

A People's Air Force MIG ready to take-off

4—Our people enjoy increasing aid from the socialist camp, wide sympathy and support from the world peoples and have driven the U.S. aggressors into a serious political isolation.

The arrogance of the U.S. imperialists' unprovoked attack against a country of the socialist camp, a sovereign nation, has been an intolerable challenge to the socialist camp and the peace-loving people in the world. The legitimate and successful fight of our people has gained increasing sympathy and support from our camp and from the whole progressive mankind. The fraternal socialist countries are supporting and assisting more and more actively our people politically, economically and militarily. The world peoples' drive for an end to the bombing and all other acts of war by the U.S. against the D.R.V.N. is becoming a broad and very powerful movement. Even the closest "allies" of the U.S. dare not come out in defence of the too brazen and immoral acts of the U.S. Not a few U.S. officials themselves have realized that in pursuing its war of destruction against North Viet Nam, the U.S. not only will get nowhere, but will suffer heavier military defeats in both parts of Viet Nam and face greater political isolation in Viet Nam, in the United States and the world.

Our great victories and the enemy's dismal defeats in the military, political and diplomatic fields have dealt a hard blow at the U.S. aggressive will in Viet Nam. **This will in the war of destruction against North Viet Nam has receded an important step.** It is against this historical background that Johnson had to order the "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam and send a U.S. government's representative to Paris for talks with the D.R.V.N. Government's representative.

LESSONS AND CAUSES OF OUR VICTORY

THE armed forces and people of North Viet Nam have drawn many lessons — in which can be found very important causes of our victory.

1—The Party's firm and sound leadership is of primary importance to our victory over the war of destruction by the U.S. aggressors.

Basing itself on a very high revolutionary determination and its Marxist-Leninist clear views on class struggle and reality, the Party has seen through the basic scheme and all the moves of the U.S. in its war of destruction and, therefore, has worked out and correctly and imaginatively implemented the lines, policies, objectives, strategy and tactics of the people's war to defeat the U.S. aggressors: the line to resist U.S. aggression and save the homeland, to mobilize and organize our people's fighting forces in the "going to any place where the enemy is" spirit and with the determination to win complete victory over the U.S. aggressors; the line to build socialism in North Viet Nam in keeping with war time conditions while preparing for long-term construction after victory; and the line of international solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism aimed at winning the sympathy and support of the socialist camp, of various nations and revolutionary forces in the world for the cause of our people, while making an active contribution to the fulfilment of our internationalist duties. The Party has decided the following: in all eventualities, to co-operate with our South Viet Nam compatriots in defeating the U.S. aggressors; to make transport and communications the immediate, central task of the whole Party and people, and greatly step up the assistance from the great rear to the great front; to beat off, with zeal and imagination, all attacks by the U.S. air force and navy, while countering in every way other acts of destruction by the enemy; closely to co-ordinate armed struggle with political and diplomatic activities in order gradually to defeat the war of destruction; to fight while building, thus increasing the strength of socialist North Viet Nam in all fields.

2—On the strength of the steadiness and absolute superiority of the socialist regime in North Viet Nam, to create an inexhaustible power with which to defeat any enemy.

The great strength of the people's war in its confrontation with U.S. war of destruction in North Viet Nam resides in the firmness and incontestable superiority of the socialist regime here.

The socialist revolution in North Viet Nam, with the basic completion of the revolution in the relations of production, has in the main done away with class antagonisms in North Vietnamese society, brought about a very great political and moral unity among the people, and given play to

their sense of collective ownership. Fostered by the Party, Viet Nam's revolutionary heroism in the North is upholding the national tradition of dauntlessness on the basis of the Party's sound revolutionary lines, of the superior socialist regime, and the sense of collective ownership.

Socialist ownership in North Viet Nam — in the forms of ownership by the whole people and collective ownership—has also made it possible for an expert and rational organization to achieve a sound division of work and combination of all available forces so as to fulfil, with the best quality and highest efficiency, the most complicated tasks of the total war fought by the whole people.

Thanks precisely to the socialist regime in the North and to its men with higher and higher cultural and technical standards, the three kinds of armed forces of the people have, in a short time, mastered the use of various modern weapons and war means, while the various branches of the national economy are making many discoveries and technical innovations for a constant rise in labour productivity, for greater amounts of products to serve the fighting, construction and living, defence of North Viet Nam, and liberation of South Viet Nam.

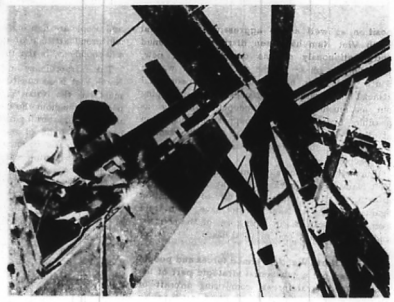
The strength of the socialist regime in North Viet Nam springs from the combination of political, moral, organizational, spiritual, and material factors. Its unquestionable superiority finds a concentrated expression in its men—new, socialist men with a high class-consciousness and ardent patriotism, with matchless determination and valour, fearless of sacrifices and hardships, with a sense of discipline and a suitable cultural, scientific and technical knowledge, physically enduring, loyal, unassuming and simple in their way of living, full of lofty feelings and ideals.

3 — Resolutely and creatively to develop people's war to the highest degree and to make it invincible so as to defeat the U.S.aggressors in South Viet Nam and completely defeat them in their war of destruction in North Viet Nam.

The people's war with which we face the war of destruction at present is quite a new type in the history of wars, a total war waged by the whole people with a new content: the entire people fighting enemy aircraft and warships with their three kinds of armed forces acting as the core; fighting enemy aircraft and warships and countering enemy artillery while organizing civil defence, intercepting enemy commandos, strengthening public security, and foiling enemy psywar ; fighting while continuing socialist construction ; defending North Viet Nam while fulfilling our obligation toward South Viet Nam — keeping transport and communications going to serve the fight against the war of destruction in North Viet Nam and accomplish our duties as the great rear to the great front.

The people's armed forces have been creatively applying the principles of operational conduct of the Viet Nam people's war to the fight against enemy aircraft and warships. They have been fighting while increasing their numerical strength and standard, and have drawn many lessons which enrich our nation's military art. It is the experience in making use of every available weapon and means — from infantry weapons to A-A guns of

U.S. bombings will not halt traffic on this road.



Repairing a bridge damaged by U.S. air raids.

every caliber, aircraft and missiles. It is a combination of the army's anti-aircraft forces including A-A batteries, the air force, missiles, radars and the navy, with the widespread movement to fight enemy aircraft among the infantry, the militia and home-guard forces, with the A-A forces as the core. It is new methods of fighting, mobile, versatile, resourceful, and fearless, to weave a spiderweb of fire at all altitudes and in all directions, effective, capable of hitting modern aircraft of every description in any place, at any time, in any weather conditions. Our A-A forces have brought down the biggest number of enemy aircraft, living up to their role as the mainstay of air defence members of the Viet Nam People's Army, have made utmost efforts to master modern technique, and have developed their own, original ways of fighting to successfully oppose a small force to a much bigger one, and win splendid victories. The militia and home-guard forces have become skilled in handling modern equipment, and many of them, with members of both sexes and different ages, have achieved resounding exploits. The artilleries of all the three kinds of people's armed forces have also gone into action, countering and duly punishing American artillery on the southern bank of the demarcation river, sinking or shooting ablaze many warships and commando boats of the U.S.-puppets. The navy, in co-ordination with friendly units, has performed brilliant deeds against enemy warships and aircraft.

Other new facets of life in North Viet Nam are civil defence, maintainance and development of transport and communications, and stepped-up production, all under war conditions, which characterize the people's war in its confrontation with the war of destruction, and which have provided our people with new experiences. Trenches and shelters are not only used to protect ourselves but also to attack, to fight, and to carry on production on the spot and in all emergencies. The fight in the field of transport and communications has won unprecedented successes which constitute an immortal epic of the workers and people on all the roads and ways. Our achievements in industrial and agricultural production, in education, culture and public health, have brought added glory to the Vietnamese nation's tradition of industriousness, gallantry, optimism and love of life.

The South Vietnamese people and their armed forces have also actively contributed to North Viet Nam's victory over the U.S. war of destruction. Angered by the U.S. aggression against socialist North Viet Nam, they have been translating into deeds this watchword : "If the U.S. aggressors strike one blow at North Viet Nam, South Viet Nam will return ten." Overcoming all hardships and difficulties and developing to the highest degree their offensive, they have thwarted various U.S. strategic counter-offensives on the South Viet Nam battlefield. What is more, they have launched a general offensive which has incessantly been pushed up. The South Vietnamese patriotic armed forces and people have destroyed a large chunk of the enemy's military strength including many aircraft, fuel storages, large quantities of bombs and ammunition, and large numbers of pilots, technicians, etc... while containing the U.S. air force within the limits of the South Viet Nam battlefield where they keep whittling it down, thus weakening it seriously and greatly blunting the sting of its attacks on North Viet Nam. In a word, the South Vietnamese liberation armed forces and people have been closely co-ordinating their actions with the armed forces and people in North Viet Nam, inflicting on the U.S. heavier and heavier defeats, and aggravating its loss of the initiative in both parts of Viet Nam.

4—Another cause of success : our all-out efforts to win sympathy and support from the socialist camp, the world's peoples and progressive mankind as a whole.

The strength of the victorious North Vietnamese armed forces and people and of their revolutionary cause as a whole also originates from the strength of the era which has seen the birth and growth of new revolutionary forces now acting on the strategic, all-round offensive against U.S.-led imperialism. Thanks to our just and successful struggle and to our Party's correct foreign policy we have received wholehearted assistance, both moral and material, which is increasing and gaining in effectiveness, from the socialist camp, various nations in the world, and the whole progressive mankind. Mainly relying upon our own efforts, we have turned such assistance into real strength to defeat U.S. imperialism politically in the international arena. We are very grateful for the assistance of the fraternal countries and the world's peoples to our just cause, and regard it as one of the cause of our successes. We are resolved to carry out our greatest national duty and greatest internationalist duty at this juncture: to defeat completely the U.S. aggressors.

It is obvious that our big victory is the victory of the resolute, sound leadership of the Party, a victory brought about by our knowledge how to bring into play the all-round and inexhaustible strength of the socialist regime, the victory of people's war which is fought with creativeness and has been brought to a high degree of development and made matchless, and finally the victory of a foreign policy which has succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of the fraternal countries in the socialist camp and of the whole progressive mankind.